3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[37] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[38] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[39] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[40] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[37]Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[38]See map, fig. 2.
[39]Kroeber, 14.
[40]See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

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we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

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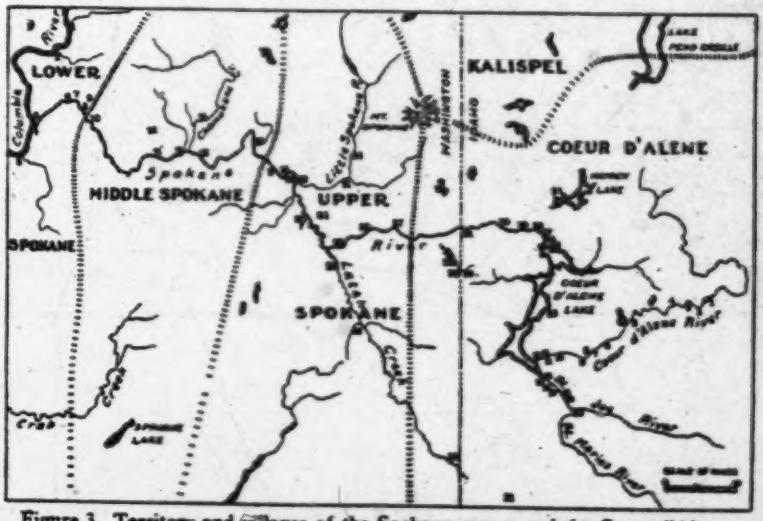

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[31] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[32]

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Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[31] See section VII.
[32] Personal conversation.